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Multicultural training on American Indian issues: Testing the effectiveness of an intervention to change attitudes toward Native-themed mascots

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Abstract

This study investigated attitudes toward Native-themed mascots in the context of color blind racial attitudes (CoBRAs). Results indicate that higher CoBRAs are related to lower awareness of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots. The researchers tested the effectiveness of a training intervention designed to produce attitudinal change among master's level counseling students. Results demonstrate that the training intervention produced significantly greater attitudinal change than did a general training session on culturally sensitive counseling practices with American Indian clients, particularly among students with high CoBRAs. Results also indicate that this training intervention on Native-themed mascots contributed to lower color blind racial attitudes, thus increasing the student's awareness of societal racism. Psychological training programs may benefit from augmenting their multicultural counseling curriculum by specifically addressing the offensive nature of Native-themed mascots. An awareness of the marginalization of American Indians, particularly as it involves racialized mascots, can reduce color blind racial attitudes and may provide psychologists with a more comprehensive understanding of aspects of the reality of American Indian clients that contribute to their worldview.

Multicultural training on American Indian issues: Testing the effectiveness of an intervention to change attitudes toward Native-themed mascots

Despite the growing importance of multiculturalism and social justice in psychological research and training, this body of work has not fully addressed the harmful effects of racialized sports mascots that appropriate American Indian culture (e.g., *Redskins*, *Indians*, *Warriors*). In one of the few psychological studies that has, Fryberg, Markus, Oyserman, and Stone (2008) found that American Indian high school and college students who were exposed to Native-themed mascot images reported lower levels of personal and community worth and lower achievement-related possible selves. In other disciplines (e.g., sociology of sport, indigenous philosophy, law, anthropology), scholars have written prolifically about the deleterious effects of Native-themed mascots (Baca, 2004; Fenelon, 1999; King, Staurowsky, Baca, Davis, & Pewewardy, 2002; King, 2004; Pewewardy, 1991; Russel, 2003; Staurowsky, 2000; Staurowsky, 2007; Vanderford, 1996; Williams, 2007). Most common arguments for abolishing Native-themed mascots and imagery point to the offensive nature of these mascots because sports-related representations misuse cultural symbols and sacred practices, perpetuate stereotypes of American Indians (e.g., noble savage, bloodthirsty savage, a historic race that only exists in past-tense status), and deny American Indians control over societal definitions of themselves (King et al., 2002; Russel, 2003; Staurowsky, 2004; Staurowsky, 2007). Since American Indians do not have control of these images, racialized mascotry allows mainstream America to undermine and appropriate American Indian culture while systematically teaching the ideology of White supremacy (Pewewardy, 1991).

According to Farnell (2004), the continued acceptance and use of racialized mascots provides an example of how schools are constructed as White public spaces. White Americans are the most ardent defenders of Native-themed mascots: nonsupportive American Indians and

others who oppose racialized mascots are viewed as disorderly interruptions in what is considered the acceptable discourse of sports (Farnell, 2004). When the discussion to remove racialized mascots emerges, those who support Native-themed mascots often feel attacked because they perceive a challenge to their “particular version of American...identity that is founded on Western mythology” (Davis, 1993, p. 9). The widespread societal prevalence and common use of Native-themed mascots, nicknames, and logos contribute to the public belief that these images must be acceptable (King, Davis-Delano, Staurowsky, & Baca, 2006). According to Merskin (2001, p. 159), the omnipresence of stereotypic American Indian imagery in society creates a “consumer blind spot” within the dominant culture. This “blind spot” inhibits the ability of many Americans to identify the potential for these images to be perceived as racist and offensive.

Color Blind Racial Attitudes

The rationale of mainstream American society for maintaining racialized mascots resonates with the construct of color blind racial attitudes (CoBRAs; Neville, Lily, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000). Color blindness can be thought of as the denial, distortion, and/or minimization of race and racism (Neville, Spanierman, & Doan, 2006). Individuals with color blind racial attitudes endorse the belief that “race should not and does not matter” (Neville et al., 2000, p. 60). Along this vein, Native-themed mascot supporters contend that tradition and honor—and not race—are the primary reasons for maintaining racialized mascotry (King et al., 2002; Russel, 2003; Staurowsky, 2007). Color blindness and supporting racialized mascots both serve to minimize or remove race from the discussion. The adoption of color blind racial attitudes among White Americans reflects an attempt to reduce the dissonance associated with a sincere desire to believe in racial equality (Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001). The

assertion that mascots honor American Indians may also serve as an ego defense that helps preserve the individual's sense of egalitarianism, while simultaneously cloaking the destructive and genocidal acts of European Americans toward American Indian communities, both in past and contemporary times (Grounds, 2001). In short, the use of Native-themed mascots forges a false sense of unity between American Indians and White Americans (Black, 2002). Color blind racial attitudes may serve as the glue that binds this false union.

Multicultural Training for Students

The foregoing discussion about Native-themed mascots has important implications for the training of counselors and psychologists. In recent years, multicultural counseling competency has emerged as an important component in the graduate training of psychologists and counselors (Abreu, Gim Chung, & Atkinson, 2000; APA, 2003; CACREP, 2001). Although most multicultural counseling textbooks include at least one chapter on American Indian issues (e.g., Baruth & Manning, 2007; Jackson & Turner, 2003; Robinson-Wood, 2009; Sue & Sue, 2008), these chapters tend to focus on cultural issues (e.g., cultural values, spiritual beliefs, acculturative stress) and ignore the problem of racialized mascots. Addressing the issue of Native-themed mascots in multicultural counseling curricula is important because culturally-sensitive counseling with American Indians requires psychologists and counselors to be aware of their own and others' stereotypes about their clients (Sutton & Broken Nose, 2005). Knowledge about the deleterious nature of Native-themed mascots might enable psychologists and counselors to help their American Indian clients resist the internalization of societal stereotypes as well as to be advocates of change by challenging the use of Native-themed mascots in schools and universities (cf. Atkinson, Thompson, & Grant, 1993).

Current Study

The main purpose of this study, therefore, was to examine the effectiveness of a training intervention designed to produce attitudinal change toward Native-themed mascots among master's level counseling students. First, we hypothesized that higher levels of color blind racial attitudes would be positively associated with lower levels of awareness of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots. Second, we hypothesized that as a result of the intervention, experimental participants would report a greater increase in awareness of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots compared to control participants. Third, we predicted a condition by color blind racial attitudes interaction effect; that is, we expected that color blind racial attitudes would be positively related to increased post-intervention awareness of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots in the experimental group, but not in the control group. We made this prediction on the basis that participants with high levels of color blind racial attitudes were likely to be less aware of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots and consequently had the greatest potential to benefit from the training intervention.

Method

Participants

Participants were 46 counseling master's students who were enrolled in two Introduction to Counseling classes taught by the same professor. This course represents their first exposure to graduate work in the field of counseling. Students enrolled in the two classes based on their preferred class schedules; there was no evidence that enrollment in the two classes differed systematically in any other way. Data from 3 participants who did not complete all the measures were excluded, resulting in a final sample of 43 participants. Approximately 58% ($n = 25$) of the sample indicated that they had not previously taken any multicultural courses; 23% ($n = 10$) had taken one multicultural course, and 19% ($n = 8$) had taken more than one. The participants

ranged in age from 22 to 50 ($M = 25.71$; $SD = 5.86$). The majority of participants were women ($n = 35$; 81%) and White ($n = 37$; 86%); the remaining participants identified themselves as Asian American ($n = 3$), multiracial ($n = 2$), and African American ($n = 1$).

Measures

Color Blind Racial Attitudes. The Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAs; Neville et al., 2000) was employed to examine color blind racial ideology. The CoBRAs has three subscales, assessing the degree to which a person denies, distorts, and/or minimizes the existence of (a) racial privilege (e.g., “White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin” [reverse scored]), (b) institutional racism (e.g., “Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people”), and (c) blatant racial issues (e.g., “Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations”). The CoBRAs consists of 20 items, each of which is rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicate greater levels of color blind racial beliefs, which in turn indicate a lower awareness of racial inequalities in society. The alpha coefficient for CoBRAs in the current study was .85. Validity has been established based on the relationship between CoBRAs and a wide range of social attitude indexes, including negative attitudes toward affirmative action (Awad, Cokley, & Ratvich, 2005), increased racial prejudice (Neville et al., 2000), and lower multicultural counseling competencies (Neville et al., 2006).

Awareness of Offensiveness of Native-Themed Mascots (AONTM). Because there are no current outcome measures in the literature that directly assess attitudes toward Native-themed mascots, this 9-item instrument was constructed by the first author to measure individuals’ awareness of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots. The items in the instrument were based on the first author’s extensive consultation with tribal members, scholars, activists, and

sports officials. In order to avoid potential respondent bias, the nine Native-themed mascot items (e.g., *Redskins*, *Indians*, *Fighting Sioux*) are presented with nine non-Native-themed mascot items (e.g., *Vikings*, *Cowboys*, *Fighting Irish*) on this instrument, which was entitled, *Attitudes Toward Human Mascots*. Using a 6 point Likert-type scale, participants were asked whether they deem the particular item's mascot to be offensive to members of the group being depicted. The questions intend to elicit the respondent's sense of awareness of the offensiveness (or lack thereof) of the mascot in question. A score of 1 represents the attitude of "not at all offensive" and a score of 6 represents the attitude of "strongly offensive." The overall score to AONTM, determined by averaging participants' responses to the nine Native-themed mascot items, represents awareness of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots. In this study, the internal consistency registered at .95 at pretest and .97 at post-test.

In a pilot test with a separate group of 33 counseling graduate students, we conducted several analyses to assess the AONTM's psychometric properties. The instrument demonstrated a two week test-retest reliability score of .82, and a Cronbach's alpha of .97. In our pilot test results, concurrent validity was demonstrated through negative correlations with overall CoBRAs scores ($r = -.49, p = .003$), as well as negative correlations with the three CoBRAs subscales: Unawareness of Racial Privilege ($r = -.38, p = .028$), Unawareness of Institutional Racism ($r = -.39, p = .024$), and Unawareness of Blatant Racism ($r = -.45, p = .009$).

Procedures

Using a quasi-experimental design, one class served as the control group and the other class served as the experimental group. The control group ($N = 22$) in this study received a 45-minute training presentation on culturally sensitive counseling practices with American Indian clients. With no specific reference to Native-themed mascots, this condition represented the

expected level of exposure to American Indian issues (e.g., cultural beliefs, spirituality, indigenous healing practices) that counseling students might receive in a counseling graduate program, based on the content found in multicultural counseling books (Baruth & Manning, 2007; Jackson & Turner, 2003; Robinson-Wood, 2009; Sue & Sue, 2008).

The experimental group ($N = 21$) received a 45-minute training presentation that addressed issues salient to the use of Native-themed mascots. This training intervention was organized into three components (i.e., knowledge, awareness, skills) in order to align with the commonly accepted tripartite model of multicultural competence (APA, 2003; Sue, 2001). To meet this aim, the training intervention utilized perspective-taking to facilitate awareness of attitudes toward race-based mascots, conveyed specific knowledge about Native-themed mascots, and discussed social justice skills that can help interested participants become advocates for change. This training intervention aimed to facilitate perspective-taking by providing examples of mascotery with other groups in order to illustrate how American Indians are subjected to an appropriation of cultural and spiritual practices. The training intervention provided specific knowledge about the differentiation of mascot-related issues such as the role of ethnicity (e.g., *Fighting Irish* vs. *Fighting Sioux*), past-tense status (e.g., *Vikings* vs. *Indians*), and the function of mascots (e.g., perpetuate stereotypes). Additionally, the training intervention presented theoretical conceptualizations and research on Native-themed mascots to help students understand ways to develop social justice skills. A separate manuscript (Author, 2009; available upon request from the first author) describes this training intervention in detail. This condition represents the ideal training scenario that would be consistent with the American Psychological Association (APA) resolution recommending the immediate retirement of American Indian mascots, symbols, images, and personalities (APA, 2005).

Although using classes as quasi-experimental groups does not constitute random assignment, this format allows for real-time assessment of multicultural curriculum. The use of classes of counseling students rather than randomly assigned groups has been evidenced in other studies (Robinson & Bradley, 1997; Seto, Young, Becker, & Kiselica, 2006) that attempt to directly assess the effectiveness of multicultural training modules. In support of this design, preliminary analyses revealed that both groups did not differ significantly in their AONTM scores, $t(41) = -.58, p > .05$ (experimental group $M = 3.15$, $SD = 1.30$; control group $M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.37$), and in their CoBRAs scores, $t(41) = 1.27, p > .05$ (experimental group $M = 52.57$, $SD = 11.97$; control group $M = 47.77$, $SD = 12.78$).

To address issues of power and influence in having the professor present the training intervention to students of a graded course, an outside researcher administered the pretest survey in the beginning of the semester while the professor was not in the room. Two weeks later, the 45-minute training interventions were given to the respective groups. The independent researcher returned to administer the post-test survey after the professor left the room. To further ensure student protection and to facilitate honest responding, the surveys were placed in a sealed envelope and were not opened until after the final course grades had been posted. These safeguard procedures were explained to students prior to requests for participation.

Results

A one-tailed test was used for our analyses because our hypotheses were directional in nature. To test our first hypothesis that color blind racial attitudes would be related to less awareness of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots, we conducted a multiple regression analysis with pre-intervention AONTM as the dependent variable and number of multicultural courses and pre-intervention CoBRAs as the independent variables. The overall regression model

was significant, $R^2 = .30$, $F(2, 40) = 8.56$, $p = .001$. The number of multicultural courses was not significantly associated with AONTM, $p > .05$. Controlling for number of multicultural courses, CoBRAs was negatively related to AONTM, $\beta = -.55$, $p < .000$. Hence, participants with high levels of color blind racial attitudes tended to be less aware of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots.

To test our second and third hypotheses on the effects of the interventions, a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted with post-intervention AONTM as the dependent variable. At step 1, pre-intervention AONTM, condition, and pre-intervention CoBRAs were entered as independent variables. At step 2, the condition x pre-intervention CoBRAs interaction was entered. The model at Step 1 was significant, $R^2 = .55$, $F(3, 39) = 15.55$, $p < .001$. At step 2, the interaction accounted for a significant increase in predicted variance, $R^2 = .58$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, $\Delta F(1, 38) = 3.16$, $p = .042$ (see Table 1). Condition was significantly related to post-intervention AONTM, $\beta = .36$, $p = .001$, after controlling for pre-intervention AONTM and CoBRAs as well as the condition x CoBRAs interaction. Two paired-samples *t*-tests revealed that after the intervention, the AONTM mean score for the experimental group increased significantly from 3.15 (SD = 1.30) to 4.52 (SD = 1.16), $t(20) = 5.52$, $p < .001$, whereas the control group did not report a significant change in AONTM, $t(21) = 1.45$, $p > .05$ (pre-intervention $M = 3.38$, SD = 1.37; post-intervention $M = 3.68$, SD = 1.58). Collectively, these findings support the second hypothesis: the intervention resulted in a greater increase in awareness of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots for experimental participants compared to control participants.

The regression analysis also revealed a significant condition x pre-intervention CoBRAs interaction effect, $\beta = .26$, $p = .042$, after controlling for pre-intervention AONTM and COBRAs as well as condition. To interpret the interaction effect, the regression slopes of the interaction

effect were plotted using predicted values for representative high and low CoBRAs groups. As shown in Figure 1, pre-intervention CoBRAs was positively related to post-intervention AONTM in the experimental group, whereas among control participants, pre-intervention CoBRAs was negatively related to post-intervention AONTM. Supporting the third hypothesis, these findings suggests that in the experimental group, participants with high levels of color blind racial attitudes benefited more from the intervention than those with low levels of color blind racial attitudes.

Posthoc Analysis

Although not originally hypothesized, we conducted a posthoc analysis to examine the effects of both interventions on color blind racial attitudes. We also examined the possibility that pre-intervention attitudes toward Native-themed mascots would moderate the relationship between condition and post-intervention color blind racial attitudes. A hierarchical multiple regression analysis with a two-tailed test was conducted with post-intervention CoBRAs as the dependent variable. At step 1, pre-intervention AONTM and CoBRAs as well as condition were entered as independent variables. At step 2, the condition x pre-intervention AONTM interaction was entered. The regression model at Step 1 was significant, $R^2 = .65$, $F(3, 39) = 23.85$, $p < .001$. However, at Step 2, the interaction did not account for a significant increase in predicted variance, $R^2 = .65$, $\Delta R^2 = 0$, $\Delta F(1, 38) = 0$, $p > .05$. The findings for this analysis are shown in Table 1. Controlling for pre-intervention CoBRAs, condition, and condition x pre-intervention AONTM, pre-intervention AONTM was negatively related to post-intervention CoBRAs, $\beta = -.40$, $p = .010$. Condition and the condition x pre-intervention AONTM interaction were not significantly related to post-intervention CoBRAs, $p > .05$. Further, two paired samples *t*-tests revealed that experimental participants [$t(20) = 2.79$, $p = .011$, pre-intervention $M = 52.57$, $SD =$

11.97, post-intervention $M = 45.71$, $SD = 11.46$] and control participants [$t(21) = 2.10$, $p = .048$, pre-intervention $M = 47.78$, $SD = 12.78$, post-intervention $M = 45.14$, $SD = 12.19$] both reported significant reductions in CoBRAs.

Discussion

To our knowledge, this is the first empirical study of the effectiveness of a multicultural training intervention designed specifically to address the topic of Native-themed mascots. Consistent with the literature on color blind racial ideology (Neville et al., 2000; Neville et al., 2006), we found that master's level counseling students with high levels of color blind racial attitudes tended to be less aware of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots, as measured by the AONTM. In addition to providing further support for the concurrent validity of the AONTM, this finding might also explain the attitudes of those who defend the use of Native-themed mascots. Perhaps such individuals find Native-themed mascots less objectionable because they embrace a racial ideology that promotes a false sense of racial egalitarianism (Black, 2002; Grounds, 2001). Our findings also indicate that the mascot intervention produced significantly greater awareness of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots than did the control intervention. In contrast to experimental participants, controls did not report a significant attitudinal change toward Native-themed mascots despite receiving a training presentation on culturally sensitive counseling practices with American Indians. This group of students may graduate from their training program "possessing stereotypes and preconceived notions that may be unwittingly imposed on their culturally different clients" (Sue & Sue, 2008, p.64).

Our findings also revealed a significant condition by color blind racial attitudes interaction; specifically, pre-intervention color blind racial attitudes were positively related to increased awareness of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots in the experimental group

but negatively related to increased awareness of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots among control participants. These findings are encouraging because they suggest that the training intervention on Native-themed mascots was particularly helpful to those who most needed multicultural education (i.e., students who strongly endorsed a color blind racial ideology). Interestingly, pre-intervention color blind racial attitudes were negatively related to an increased awareness of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots in the control group (see Figure 1). It is possible that when presented with culturally sensitive counseling practices with American Indians, low color blind participants were able to translate their existing awareness of societal racism into greater awareness of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots. While it is encouraging that current methods of multicultural training may somehow be effective in this regard, future research would benefit from identifying ways to make this awareness explicit for all students, not just those who enter a program with pre-existing awareness of racism in society.

A posthoc analysis showed that across both experimental and control groups, pre-intervention attitudes about Native-themed mascots negatively predicted post-intervention color blind racial attitudes. This suggests that participants who were already highly aware of the offensiveness of Native-themed mascots prior to the interventions demonstrated greater benefit from both intervention scenarios by way of their decreased color blind racial attitudes after the experience. Additionally, participants in both experimental and control groups also reported significant reductions in color blind racial attitudes after the mascot and counseling training interventions respectively, although the reductions were not significantly different across both groups. These findings further attest to the benefits of the experimental intervention because although its focus was specifically on Native-themed mascots, it also had an impact on reducing racial color blindness, thus increasing student awareness of racism in society.

Limitations

There were several limitations in our study. First, because participants were not randomly assigned to the experimental and control groups, we could not rule out the possibility that both groups differed systematically on other attributes that might have influenced their change in attitudes toward Native-themed mascots. Future studies could benefit from using randomized control designs to assess the effectiveness of multicultural training interventions aimed at altering attitudes toward Native-themed mascots. Second, we used a measure of attitudes toward Native-themed mascots that had not been previously validated psychometrically. Future research should continue to develop and validate measures assessing attitudes about American Indians, including attitudes toward Native-themed mascots.

A third limitation is that we did not assess the long-term impact of the training intervention. Although students receiving the training on Native-themed mascots reported significant attitudinal change, we do not know if this change would last over time. Moreover, because the experimental intervention was related to the items on the AONTM, it is possible that the significant decrease in AONTM among experimental participants reflected demand characteristics rather than a genuine attitudinal change. A third data collection point, perhaps one year afterward, could assess if these results indicate a genuine and long-term attitudinal commitment. Furthermore, it is unknown if experimental participants' attitudinal change was accompanied by behavioral change such as advocacy, protests, or other means of expressing social justice principles. Future studies could benefit from an incorporation of these aspects (e.g., multiple attitudinal assessments over time, including a behavioral assessment) into their design. Finally, it is unknown what effect this awareness could have on participants' counseling practice.

Hence, future research should explore if awareness of the nature of Native-themed mascots can impact clinician effectiveness in working with American Indian clients.

Conclusion and Practical Implications

In connecting awareness of attitudes toward Native-themed mascots to color blind racial attitudes, this study represents a potentially important attempt to empirically link racialized mascotery to established constructs in multicultural psychology. Much of the interdisciplinary writing on Native-themed mascots is consistent with other multicultural research and scholarship on areas such as racial microaggressions (Constantine, 2007; Sue et al., 2007; Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal, & Torino, 2007) and White privilege (McIntosh, 1989; Neville et al., 2001; Steinfeldt, Priester, & Jones, 2008). Initiating a systematic empirical examination of this controversial yet oft-observed dynamic will allow counselors and psychologists to continue their commitment to social justice. Developing and implementing training interventions can encourage counseling students and others to join the efforts to end the hegemonic practice of racialized mascotery.

APA's (2003) multicultural guidelines call for psychologists to be aware of their own and others' stereotypes concerning racial and ethnic minority groups. Specifically, psychologists and counselors need to be aware of American Indian stereotypes to work effectively with American Indian clients (Sutton & Broken Nose, 2005). Our findings suggest that current models of multicultural counseling training that emphasize culturally sensitive approaches to counseling American Indians may not be entirely effective in changing attitudes toward Native-themed mascots, a phenomenon that may perpetuate insidious stereotypes about American Indians (King et al., 2002; King et al., 2006; Russel, 2003; Staurowsky, 2007). To provide comprehensive multicultural competency training, educators may need to augment their multicultural counseling curriculum by specifically addressing the offensive nature of Native-themed mascots and their

impact on American Indian communities. An awareness of the marginalization of American Indians, particularly as it involves racialized mascots, can reduce color blind racial attitudes and may provide psychologists with a more comprehensive understanding of aspects of the reality of American Indians that contribute to their worldview.

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Table 1
Hierarchical multiple regression analyses (N = 43).

Step	Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
<u>Dependent variable: post-intervention AONTM</u>				
Step 1				
	Pre-intervention AONTM	.92	.19	.64**
	Condition	1.05	.31	.37**
	Pre-intervention CoBRAs	-.09	.18	-.06
Step 2				
	Pre-intervention AONTM	.90	.18	.62**
	Condition	1.04	.31	.36**
	Pre-intervention CoBRAs	-.35	.23	-.25
	Condition x pre-intervention CoBRAs	.54	.30	.26*
<u>Dependent variable: post-intervention CoBRAs</u>				
Step 1				
	Pre-intervention CoBRAs	5.96	1.31	.52**
	Condition	-2.62	2.24	-.11
	Pre-intervention AONTM	-4.71	1.33	-.40**
Step 2				
	Pre-intervention CoBRAs	5.96	1.33	.52**
	Condition	-2.62	2.27	-.11
	Pre-intervention AONTM	-4.73	1.75	-.40**
	Condition x pre-intervention AONTM	.04	2.28	0

Note: AONTM = *Awareness of Offensiveness of Native-Themed Mascots*; Condition = experimental versus control group; CoBRAs = Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Figure 1

Condition by pre-intervention CoBRAs interaction effect on post-intervention AONTM